1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

experts are rightly questioning some of the obvious economic difficulties of trying to farm several scattered strips from a village home base, but they sometimes forget the social efficiencies found in a village in contrast to the isolated farmstead. Some of this social efficiency becomes apparent as soon as one arrives in the *plateia*, the village square.

The Plateia

Any visitor from outside is expected by the villagers to make his identity and business known as soon as possible, not to conform to any legal or police requirements but to satisfy the lively, usually friendly village curiosity. The plateia is the stage for this performance. Upon entering the village, one heads toward the most imposing coffeehouse in the plateia. A reception committee springs apparently from nowhere in the person of the local village president or some other dignitary. By the time the coffeehouse is reached, the visitor becomes the honored guest and is asked what refreshment he prefers — coffee or something stronger. Meanwhile, four or five other men, who consider themselves important enough locally to display such forwardness, join the reception committee at the table. Others stand around to watch what the strangers do and to listen to the conversation. Such situations call to mind the observation of a traveler through the Balkans and Eastern Europe half a century ago, who pointed out that when the Russian or the Turk had no business to occupy him, he went home; but when the Greek or the Jew had nothing to do, he stood on the corner of the square hoping something would turn up.[1] After the newcomers have observed the formalities and explained the purpose of the visit, everyone can then sit back and relax to drink the sirupy coffee or to give one's throat a chance to cool after each swallow of the fiery *ouzo*. Only then can the visitor really devote his attention to what the people who pass through the square are doing or wearing.

First there are the children, some of them startled as they suddenly see their reflection in the shiny chromium automobile bumper; other youngsters settle down to some simple game after the visitor becomes monopolized by the older people. Next comes a man carrying pottery jars to the fountain at the edge of the square, getting water for his coffeeshop around the corner. Peasants on their way from the fields ride their carts through the square, with a spare horse used for plowing led along behind. The animals as well as the very small children shy away from the automobile. Women look from the windows of the nearby houses at the group at the tables under the trees in front of the coffeehouse, but only very few ever venture close enough to hear what the men are talking about. A bus from the city pulls in with a roar and a clatter and quickly becomes the center of attention.

As the sights and sounds of the people and the animals become familiar,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

is going on in the world." "A few of us get small cooking stoves and others electric irons." Some also add, with a twinkle in their eyes, that since they can see after dark they do not have to go to bed so early and that the birth rate will probably drop.

Where there is no electricity there may be radio sets run by batteries. In one mountain village we found that five of the eight coffeehouses had battery receiving sets which they always turned on to the newscasts. "Why," we wanted to know, "are you villagers so interested in newscasts?" "Oh, we like to hear farm prices over the radio, but most of all we like news about what is going on in foreign countries because that is what enlightens us." In some of the most out-of-the-way villages we found receiving sets run by gas motors supplied by the United States Mission. Thus the air waves are reaching the village plateia and the villagers' sense of isolation gives way to a growing demand for more of the benefits enjoyed outside the village.

The water supply in the village is quickly identified by the procession of people to and from the springs, artesian well, or street faucets. A local gendarme in his trim gray uniform, who joins our group, and a field guard on his way to leave the rifle slung over his shoulder at the community-council office are expressions of services from the national or local government, as is the mailman who comes from the next largest center once a day, or perhaps three times a week.

Our observations of the people, public buildings, and available utilities are constantly interrupted by the liveliness of the eager conversation around the café table. Although the American visitor is not directly engaged, the topics sound so interesting and so close to the facts he is trying to collect that he cannot remain entirely aloof. For instance, the young officer in charge of some people recently resettled in the Greek-Albanian border area under his control says that the peasants are complaining because their land allotment is too small and the soil too sandy, so they go into the forbidden no-man's-land to cultivate even if they do place their lives in jeopardy; a man who prides himself on knowing local history affects a learned air when he tells the history of the local church, built on the site of an ancient pagan shrine; a child, bolder than the rest, comes up to ask the woman interpreter, who is wearing slacks, whether she is a man or a woman.

Again, in a low voice, a local official inquires politely: "Who is this American professor? What is he doing in our village?" When he is told that the professor is interested in understanding the Greek people, and in telling Americans about them, he finds it hard to believe. "You mean," someone asks, "that he has come all the way from America to visit our village? Please tell the professor that we are greatly honored." One man adds, "I've lived here sixty-seven years and during none of that time has a Greek professor ever come to visit us." A woman related to the coffee-

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

house proprietor has edged her way into the group and asks, "But isn't he young to be a professor?" It is at this point that one pulls out the impressive credentials, beribboned and sealed, from the university authorities back in America. Though it is written in English, no one questions the authenticity of such an imposing document. Everyone is then delighted to supply any information at his command, even going so far as to ask: "What would the professor like to know about our village?" "Let's begin at the beginning. How did your village get started?"

Location

Almost every village has some tradition about its origin; it may be legendary or historical. The following account by a native of a Peloponnesian village illustrates the legendary:

> In the old days my village was built more to the west in a place now called Palaiochori [Old Village]. My forefathers left Palaiochori and built the village where it is nowadays because a great epidemic had caused the death of many people. It is said that all of those who had danced at a wedding on a particular day died, for the evil was caused by a spook in the form of a dog which jumped from one shoulder to another. Wherever it stopped, that guest became sick and died. Those who survived the evil came and built the village of today. In the beginning they put up huts and later on houses. The country was wild and full of trees. In order to choose a good spot they took three pieces of meat and put them in three possible sites. They then noticed which piece of meat spoiled last and chose that site; they were glad that the North Wind blew upon the spot selected.[4]

Many Greek villages are of relatively recent origin and do not need to rely upon legend for an explanation of their location. Particularly in Macedonia and Thrace, scores of new villages were built to accommodate the approximately 150,000 rural refugee families coming from Asia Minor in the 1920s, although as many as two thirds of the rest of these new arrivals were installed in old villages in temporary huts or in houses vacated by the Bulgarians and Turks exchanged for the Greeks. As a rule, these villages were located near a road and on cultivable land, so that they were much more accessible than the older mountain villages.

There was some discussion at the time of resettlement about the advisability of establishing the farmers on independent farmsteads rather than in villages. Some serious disadvantages to the village system from the standpoint of efficient use of time have been set forth in various reports. Frequently not less than two or more hours each day is spent by several members of the family in traveling between their home and their fields. It is also necessary to transport all food supplies, the grain, grapes, beans, hay, and other crops, as well as all fuel, by donkey or mule over long distances, an expenditure of labor which would be unnecessary if the people lived on the land they farmed.[5]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

At first I had to hire a driver for the tractor but my boy rode around with him, asked a few questions, and learned how to drive. So the second season I turned the tractor over to my son. Unfortunately, some people start driving before they know how and that is why an inexperienced person killed two men the other day not far from here.

Alekos estimated that only 30 percent of the tractor owners hired drivers and that the rest of the owners drove themselves or had members of their family who could drive. He thought that this shift away from hiring drivers would mean a trend from the bigger tractors to smaller tractors for, as he put it, "If you are going to pay for a driver you might as well get a larger tractor and get your money's worth out of the driver. If you are going to do the work yourself, a small tractor is sufficient." Not many of them who now drove, he thought, were very skillful at repairs; they were dependent on the tractor shops in town or upon the traveling automobile-borne shops which came out to the village when necessary.

In the midst of our conversation on tractors, Alekos interrupted to say, much to the amusement of the three other men who had gathered around the stone wall where we sat, that he had at first been suspicious of us: "Some of us thought you were either tax collectors or officials from the Agricultural Bank. We were ready to run away until we heard somebody cry out, 'Americans!' "

That reminded one of the bystanders of a good story he had heard from an acquaintance in the Peloponnesos who lived near Messenia. It seems that while a funeral procession was under way there, those participating saw a car with a policeman and other officials thought to be tax collectors. In perfect unison the pallbearers rested the coffin in the middle of the road and disappeared as though into thin air, leaving the officials confronting the lonely coffin.

After a laugh all around the circle, we steered Alekos back onto the subject of his tractor in order to find out why he had bought a Lantz tractor instead of an American tractor. He thought the latter much more complicated. Diesel tractors, both German and American-made, are preferred to the gas-driven type.

"Has the tractor made much difference in your life?"

Alekos furrowed his brows and thought a moment. "Yes, it has made me work much harder to pay off the debt I owe because of the tractor." He agreed that the machine had probably not lightened his wife's work very much, but a shrug of the shoulders seemed to imply, "why should it?"

Throughout the plains area of Greece I met many men like Alekos who, in one financial plunge, had leaped from the peasant farming of their fathers into the machine farming of the Western world.[4] Unlike Alekos, some of them seemed to think that the work of the women as well as that of the men had been considerably lightened. One man from Schematari,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

233 to 500 before the war. Rent is usually paid in milk, in an amount equaling
427 the grain needed to seed the field pastured. If it takes normally 500 okas
246 of seed (23.5 bushels) to put in the crop on the area rented, then the shepherd will pay 500 okas (1410 pounds, or 169 gallons) of milk. The land available has usually been in a crop the year or two before, but is allowed to lie fallow this one year and is thus free for pasturage. Only three or four Valtetsi families have been able to buy their own land down below, but they too bring their flocks back to Valtetsi in the spring.

434 As very little farming can be done on the steep and rocky hillsides
464 around Valtetsi, many of its people, like those from Parthenon, go to the
[321] plains below in June to help harvest the grain. In the late fall and winter,
[465] while pasturing below, some of them help with the gathering of the olives. They are usually paid in kind for such work, an important way of eking out their annual food supply. Other income, of course, is derived from the sale of milk, cheese, wool, and an occasional live animal. Most of the
426 shepherds are in debt to two outside "grocers" (whom they also call
452 "outsiders" or "foreigners"), who advance the equivalent of about $33 to
578 a shepherd against the following season's milk products and agree to the
[609] retirement of the debt at a fixed price per oka of milk or cheese. The price is said to be put so low that the grocer seldom loses, but if there is a rise in price he absorbs all of the profit, further disgruntling the shepherds indebted to him. Some of the conversation went like this:

"We had a bad winter this year. The pastures were not good because it didn't rain. We had to buy fodder to carry our flocks through and thus became heavily indebted to the grocer."

"Yes," added another, "the government shouldn't let these grocers exploit us so."

[474] "But," we asked, "why don't you form a dairy cooperative like some
[157] other villages and market your own milk products yourselves?"

"Oh, we could never get together on anything like that," said one, and all the others shook their heads affirmatively. And they then smiled half-ashamedly and yet amused at themselves when a city Greek pointed out to them, "Why are you then blaming the government when you have just admitted that the fault lies in your own individualism and your failure to cooperate?"

233 As a flock passed through the village on its way to be milked after a
533 morning in the fields, I began to ask about the bells, whose assorted sizes made a peculiar and not unpleasing harmony as the animals hurriedly moved homewards. Then the Valtetsi shepherds confirmed what I had been told before — that the selection of bells is one of the tasks the shepherd takes most seriously. He goes to one of the metalworking shops in the market town and picks out a very deep bell with a pleasing tone. This he

1:Sanders Z-5/t (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

older women wearing dark brown and the girls white. Black scarfs are for mourning only.

In the Peloponnesos the men buy their trousers and coats but wear home-made underwear and shirts. They have a good suit for Sunday which, when it becomes threadbare, they wear every day. The socks are woolen and are made at home. Sandals are often worn in the fields while regular shoes are reserved for occasions when the men dress up in their best. The cap is such a favorite headgear in the Peloponnesos that if a villager sees a man with a hat he will assume that he is an outsider. The children dress like the adults, although the boys wear short trousers.

Behind the garments lie many long patient hours of painstaking work. The women make their own woolen thread but buy the cotton thread. They spin when otherwise unoccupied, for they feel that they must be busy with some handiwork except on Sunday, a day on which they do not even touch a needle or spindle. In many villages one still finds that practically every house has its own loom, stored during the summer but busy in the winter as each woman tries to supply her family's needs and as the unmarried girls work on their dowries. These looms eat up so much thread that spinning never seems to be completed.

Younger women, seeking some release from this onerous task of making so much cloth at home, use their meager funds for the purchase of store-bought goods. They even exchange with the town merchants some of the priceless costumes, which have been handed down through many years, for factory-made cloth that gives them a more fashionable feel.

In the Pelion district around Volos the only examples of popular art being produced today are the blankets and household linen which the women continue to make on their crude looms. According to Kitsos A. Makres, who has written extensively on this subject,[8] they continue this weaving because of a romantic, unconscious desire to give the same decorative color to the house that they have known all of their lives. He points out that buying the industrial materials is more economical but that the aesthetic urge keeps the women's handicrafts alive.

The most detailed study of national costumes and the art of weaving and embroidering in Greece has been made by Angelike Chatzemichale.[9] She and others associated with her have tried to stimulate the increase in such handicrafts, for which there is a ready sale in Greece and abroad. She finds that the main variations in materials used are between the mainland and the islands. On the mainland the goods are handwoven from wool to stand hard wear, an exception being in Epirus where cotton and linen materials are made for household use. In the cities, such as Salonica and Volos, silk has long been popular. On the islands, however, few woolen materials are used since the preference is for cotton, silk, and felt.[10] The villages of the mainland, particularly in the mountains, have had to be much more self-sufficient

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

585 cross three times on her forehead. The procession then goes to the groom's house, and the young couple are the only ones who ride. The musicians have already arrived at the groom's house and start the music as the procession approaches. There is more shooting and the flag is now put on the groom's house. The bride, before she gets off the horse, throws an old piece of iron on the roof as a symbol of strength in her new home. The mother-in-law gives a ring biscuit cut crosswise. The bride holds it over her head and squeezes it into four pieces: one she eats, two she puts on her breast, and one she hands to her mother-in-law who offers her a glass of wine. She makes the sign of the cross with wine and returns the glass. After this a boy, both of whose parents are alive, is given her to hold. She kisses the child and gives him sweets and hangs a ring biscuit around his neck. Now the bride can dismount from her horse.

Her brother-in-law, or some other close relative of her husband, will take the bride into his arms, turn around three times, and then let her down. The dowry is unloaded and displayed. The tables are set. The wives of the relations have already brought baskets of food which are set on the table, and each small [609] family gathers around its basket. Any stranger present is allowed to sit at one of the tables. There is drinking, dancing, eating, singing. Later on, the other villagers who were not related to the groom or bride, and were therefore not invited to the wedding feast, will join the party in the courtyard or at a nearby threshing floor for a continuation of the festivities.

[606] At night, after the supper, the mother-in-law guides the couple to their room. On Monday morning she inspects the bride's nightgown to make sure that she was a virgin. Before lunchtime the bride takes a boy and goes to the fountain where she throws a coin into the water, fills a jug, and then returns. The boy retrieves the coin which belongs to him.

On Wednesday the couple gets up early and goes to the field. On the return the bride will carry on her back a bundle of wood or branches and follow her husband who leads the way back home. The first Sunday after the wedding the [574] bride will receive the female relations; the following Sunday the couple will go to church and after the service the bride returns the visits of these female kinfolk. At each home the housewife will call "cotton" to the bride, which means that she will give her a piece of cotton and will wish her "may you live and get old enough to see grandchildren." Then the marriage period is finished.

[184] Anyone even casually familiar with Greek life will realize that this authentic account differs in many respects from the wedding customs found in other parts of the country. For instance, in many villages the groom and [777] the bride go separately to the church, for it is considered bad luck for the groom to see the bride on the wedding day before meeting her at the altar. [608] Then, too, it is quite common to have both a male and female sponsor, one representing the bride's family and the other the groom's family. There are other details which are fairly common throughout the country. Supposing [515] that the wedding is to be at six o'clock in the evening, the bride will start her bath about three o'clock in the afternoon. After this, she is perfumed. Her friends and a "wise woman" do the dressing, although in some parts

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275 571 [602] [452] the relative upon whom he might need to call at a later date. Many men are careful to visit two or more shops from time to time "so as not to offend any of the proprietors." Also, as one informant put it, "The peasant comes from the field, washes up, goes for a drink to a coffeehouse where he might be tied by blood, but in order to do business he goes to other coffeehouses to find people with whom to arrange use of animals for plowing, etc., and will stop for a drink with these people."

275 571 573 Anyone trying to understand the sociology of Greek village life needs to pay special attention to these coffeehouse groups. First of all, the regular patrons of each coffeehouse can be viewed as a group whose members possess certain bonds in common. They have heard many of the same stories; they have learned to react in almost the same way to the buffoon, the over-important person, and the fellow villager constantly seeking sympathy. Although they may frequent a second coffeehouse, they are apt to feel a primary loyalty to their first choice and will find any number of reasons to justify their opinion that it is the best coffeehouse in the village.

275 573 ● 609 242 This general group, however, most of the time is broken down into cliques, varying in size from two during the day to as many as seven persons by evening. Each group has its own informal leader. According to Photiadis: "The informal leader in the coffeehouse gives the other members of his clique group his advice and the satisfaction that they are associating with a person of higher status, while he has the satisfaction of performing his role, the dynamic aspect of his status, which is his reward." Therefore, when some outsider, such as an agricultural agent, approaches the farmers at a particular table, the informal leader considers him a rival. "The agent is a person of higher status who can talk about things the others cannot. This exclusive selling of ideas makes the informal leader feel that his authority is lowered in the eyes of his subordinates, and as a result, he fears that he will lose the satisfaction he has had." No wonder, then, that he is very likely to oppose the ideas which the agricultural agent is trying to advance.

275 573 521 208 203 Of special interest is the way news spreads from one clique to the next as part of the community-wide decision on some proposal new to the village. Photiadis takes as an illustration the use of a new insecticide which had been demonstrated by the agricultural agent to a number of farmers earlier in the day:

> The cliques which have members who have seen the demonstration will start discussing the matter and, after a series of objections and agreements, they will probably reach a decision or have split decisions. The opinion of the informal leader during this discussion has a considerable influence on certain members.
>
> Around the table of each clique there are usually one or more persons belonging to other cliques, or there are isolates sitting with the clique. These "isolates" . . . often move from table to table exchanging ideas or presenting the

1:Sanders Z-5γ4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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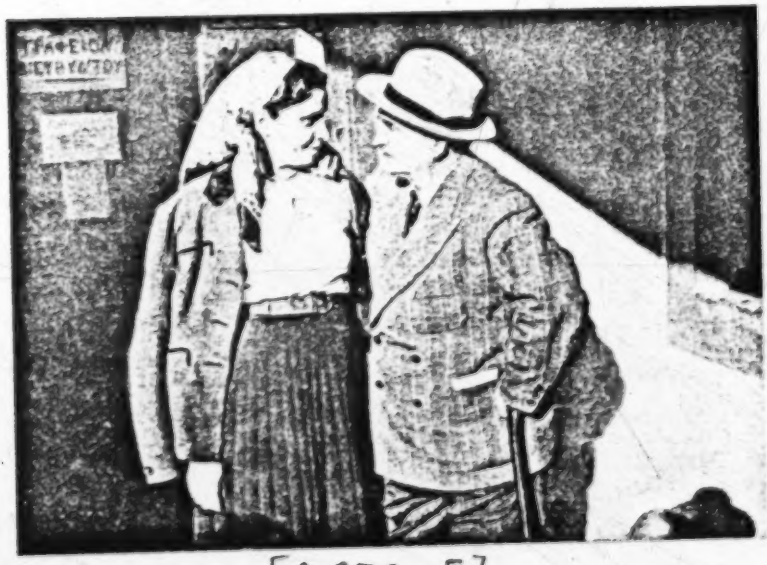
9. Our hosts in a Peloponnesian village: *Xenos* is the password for stranger and guest. Their hospitality was radiant; their posing was a serious project.

10. Mr. Papaspyropoulos and his wife. He wrote the account of Ano-Kleitoria, Peloponnesos.



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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

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appeared in Serbo-Croatian, the author's mother tongue. In 1922 the first volume entitled *Balkansko Poluostrvo i Južnoslovenske Zemlje: Osnove Antropogeografije* (418 pp.) appeared in Belgrade. Volume two (254 pp.) appeared in 1931 with the subtitle *Psihičke Osobine Južnih Slovena* (Psychic Characteristics of the South Slavs). The connection between Cvijic's work and the present study is the interesting map facing p. 282 of volume one, which shows the migration patterns of the various shepherd groups throughout the Balkans. Any thorough study of shifting migration habits would have to take Cvijic's work as a starting point at least, although this would not imply accepting all of his generalizations about the effect of the physical environment upon social life.

7. Although no attempt has been made to cover the literature dealing with sheep production in the Peloponnesos, I have noted in passing that Z. Duckett Ferriman, in *Home Life in Hellas: Greece and the Greeks* (London, 1910), tells of the pastoral pursuits of those living near the site of ancient Sparta early in this century: "Pastoral occupations become a necessity where tillage is impossible, and in every land the wildest districts are the domain of the shepherd, who is the most uncultured element of the population, and also the hardiest. The youths of Sparta were not kept in the valley, but sent up into Taygetus to acquire the training which they turned to account against the Messenians of the plain. . . . And so, today, the Arcadian mountaineers are noted for their strength and hardihood, and are perforce shepherds. Every cottage has its flock, tended during the day by children, elusive, faun-like beings, who manifest neither pleasure nor discontent nor surprise at the presence of the stranger, so unlike in this to the inquisitive, obtrusive Greek child of the towns and villages of the lowlands. At sunset they are relieved of their task by their fathers, who keep watch by night against wolf and robber. At the end of October all the live-stock is moved to the plains, marching in solid phalanx, goats in front, sheep in the middle, mules and donkeys behind, the well-armed shepherds and their fierce dogs on either flank" (pp. 28–29).

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Another interesting source is volume one of *Travels in the Morea* (London, 1830), by William Martin Leake. Interesting information about sheepraising in the western Peloponnesos is found in K. N. Eliopoulos, "Poimenika tes Eleias" (Pastoral Life in Elis), *Laographia*, XII (1938), 253–285.

8. Many travelers to the Balkans come into contact with these nomads and write about them. M. E. Picot, *Les Roumains de la Macédoine* (Paris, 1875), analyzes all of the source material available to him, and prior works need not be cited here. Lucy M. J. Garnett, *Greece of the Hellenes* (London, 1914), devotes a few pages to pastoral life, stressing particularly the appearance of a Vlach encampment and the authority of the Vlach chieftains. Sir Charles Eliot, *Turkey in Europe* (London, 1900) makes this interesting comment on the Vlachs in Macedonia: "They remind one of those ingenious pictures in which an animal or a human face is concealed so as not to be obvious on first inspection, though when once seen it appears to be the principal feature of the drawing. In the same way, one may live and travel in the Balkan lands without seeing or hearing anything of the Vlachs, until one's eyes are opened. Then one runs the risk of going to the opposite extreme and thinking, like Roumanian patriots, that most of the inhabitants of Macedonia are Vlachs in disguise" (p. 409).

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Andreas Adossides, "The Shepherds of Greece," *Geographical Magazine*, September 1943, pp. 217–225, gives a vividly written account.

Jovan Cvijic, "The Geographical Distribution of the Balkan Peoples," *The Geographical Review*, V (June 1918), 470–482, estimates the number of Arumani (or Vlachs) at about 150,000 to 160,000 scattered individuals. He points out that during the Middle Ages they were very numerous and constituted the majority of the population in Thessaly and in Aetolia, two areas respectively called Great and Little Vlachia.

V. T. Vikas, "E[illegible]na para Vlahophonois," (Customs of the Vlach-Speaking People), *Laographia*, VI (1917), 169–188, is chiefly a description of holidays and recreation.

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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own proprietors even under Ottoman rule. Also see D. Loukopoulos, *Poimenika tes Roumelei* (Pastoral Life in Roumele) (Athens, 1930).

16. Some of the references to particular villages are taken from the village studies of the Near East Foundation, the Mutual Security Administration, and the Greek Ministry of Agriculture (mimeographed, 1951, 1952).

An account of some shepherd festivals is found in an article by K. Marinos, "Vlahopanegyria," *Nea Estia*, XI (1932), 586–590. Although this work deals only with the mainland of Greece, some readers interested in the islands may wish to consult the following representative studies of sheepraising there: For Chios: Philip P. Argenti and H. J. Rose, *The Folk-Lore of Chios*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1949); G. Madias, "Oi Poimenes en Kardamylois" (Life of the Shepherds in Kardamyla-Chios), *Laographia*, VI, 225–226. For the Dodecanese: K. Doxiades and others, "Dodekanesos: Genike perigraphe" (The Dodecanese: General Description), *Ministry of Reconstruction Series*, no. 21 (Athens, 1947), 109–117; An. G. Vrontes, "E melissokomia kai to mandradorema ste Rodo" (Beekeeping and Sheepraising in Rhodes), *Laographia*, XII, 209–228. For Karpathos: M. G. Michailides-Nouaros, *Laographika symmikta Karpathou* (Folklore Miscellany for Karpathos), (Athens, vol. I, 1932; vol. II, 1934). For Lesbos: D. Ch. Eleftheriades, "Ktenotrophia" (Livestock Industry), *Lesviakon Emerologion* (Lesbian Almanac), 1950, pp. 281–282. For Skyros: Nike Perdika, *Skyros: Entyposeis kai perigraphai, historika kai laographika semeiomata, ethe kai ethima, mnemeia tou logou tou laou* (Skyros: Impressions and Descriptions, Historical and Folklore Notes, Manners and Customs, Glossary of Popular Speech) (Athens, 2 vols., 1940 and 1943 — pp. 157–165 deal with the major occupations, including that of shepherd; also see V. Antonakes, "E Poimniovoske mas" (Our Sheepraising), *Skyros*, 1948, pp. 112–114.

[Turks]

Chapter VII. Woman's Work Is Never Done

[114] 1. In any account of family life in Greece, some mention should be made of the family system among the Turks who live in western Thrace. When visited in 1953 and 1955, their daily lives were not too much affected by the Turkish-Greek controversy over Cyprus. Like other Greek citizens, the Turkish men must perform military service according to the law, but, since they are not considered very reliable soldiers, they are permitted to pay the fixed sum which exempts them. One of the problems in the last war was the inability of the Greek officers to command non-Greek-speaking Turks.

[641] [702] [191] Much of the family life of these Turks centers about the farm and strict religious observances. To visit Turkish homes during Bairam, at the end of their month of fasting, makes one feel that he is in the interior of Turkey, although Greek place names and Greek officials bring one back to reality.

[796] [574] [609] [576] For two days at the time of Bairam the men do no work in the fields and are glad to spend leisurely hours with strangers interested in their way of life. They invite the guests to their homes which have been newly whitewashed for the holidays. The Turks remove their sandals or shoes at the bottom of the stairs leading to the main room, but non-Turkish visitors are not expected to follow this practice. There in a carpeted room the guests are seated on the few chairs, while the Turkish men squat cross-legged on the floor. A rich meal of *dolmades* (grape leaves stuffed with ground meat and rice), chunks of veal, dark bread, and a dessert of dripping sweet baklavas served with black coffee proves very filling. No women make their appearance, and men do all of the serving. Women are very much in evidence throughout the villages of western Thrace because they have many different tasks to perform, but they do manage to keep their faces partly covered by their veils when they see strangers approaching.

[262] [562] [291] [584] [595] Marriage arrangements among the Muslims we visited are under the control of the Mufti in Xanthe. Polygyny is not very common, according to the Greek officials.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

or in a regular pattern of circulation through several generations among particular sets of such groups. The control of property establishes social links between a man and his wife's relatives not only in the ways we have mentioned, but because his wife's parents and brothers and sisters have a legal and customary right to be consulted before the final alienation of dower property (Section 1418). These links last only one generation, however, so that in each generation a new network of relations between elementary families in the neighborhood develops, clustering around the management of dower properties. These matters are important because they reveal some of the economic and social structure of Vasilika and its neighborhood that is congruent with the types of relationships people, both kin and non-kin, have with each other (see Chapter 5).

One other situation occurs frequently enough in Vasilika to be worth mentioning. When a farmer has no sons to inherit his land and his house, but has a daughter, the father may acquire a man's assistance on the farm by importing a son-in-law. Such a man is called a *soghambros* in Vasilika; he is a husband who moves into his wife's household instead of vice-versa. The importation of a *soghambros* is also a solution to the problem of a young widow who has no grown sons to run the farm left by her husband and arranges a second marriage for herself with a man who is willing to work her first husband's holdings and her original dower lands. Since a *soghambros* is always a manager of, and the laborer on, property belonging to others and is expected to bring no property of his own with him, there is a slight social stigma attached to the status of Vasilika. The villagers say also that a *soghambros* is not "master in his own house." Certainly, the lot of a man who is not a master in his own house and comes as a stranger to a village where most of the other men have known each other all their lives is not a happy one. But a *soghambros* is not really dishonored by his position; the villagers, in this situation, as in so many others, recognize the practical necessities which brought about the arrangement and do not strongly condemn a man for making the best of his difficulties.

The dowry in Vasilika enters into the life of the villagers in other ways besides inheritance at marriage. It has long served as a means of upward social mobility for girls. Since, as we have seen, the marriage of a daughter is among the most important obligations of parents, the dowry comes into the consciousness of the villagers more often as a property requirement for marrying off their daughters than as a means of transmitting inheritance. When, in addition, the high value placed on upward social mobility is translated into an effort to find urban sons-in-law for one's daughters, the dowry emerges as a mechanism for increasing the social prestige of the family. Farmers are willing to give larger dowries in exchange for the great satisfaction they derive from having town sons-in-law. In Vasilika, the education of some sons has released land to add to the girls' dowries. Improved agricultural income has also enabled the farmers to give larger dowries. In the decade ending in 1959, every marriage of a Vasilika daughter whose father was in the upper half of the village's income range had been one with a man of respectable occupation who lived in a provincial town or in Athens. The husbands are tailors, small retail store-owners, or civil service workers. One young man is a photographer, another is a gymnasium

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first to survey his consanguineal kin, his affinals, and his *kumbari*. From among these, he may choose one of his first cousins with whom his son will board while he goes to the gymnasium, one of his sons-in-law who is a civil servant to help with tax problems, one of his *kumbari* to recommend a merchant, and so on. Again, the farmer chooses different individuals from among those potentially helpful to him by virtue of their statuses and need not ask any one person to help him in more than one way. Once more the relationships need not be permanent; if for any reason they prove unsatisfactory, a man shifts to another individual. Moreover, the farmer reciprocates these favors in various ways, for example, by taking his cousin's child for the summer, by offering hospitality to *kumbari* at festival times, or by getting information about village girls from among whom his urban connection may want to arrange a marriage. If a farmer can find no one among his group of consanguineal kin, his affinals, and his *kumbari* who is willing to enter into an agreement with him for these extra-village needs, he turns to his fellow villagers and neighbors and attempts to attach himself to their network of extra-village associations.

What Vasilika's farmers do not do is attempt to establish new and direct relationships with complete strangers, that is, persons or agencies outside the network of their own or their fellow villagers' extra-village associations.

In sum, then, outside of the elementary family, a Vasilika farmer expects to establish voluntary relationships with a number of different individuals from each of whom he expects the fulfillment of a limited set of obligations to himself, and toward each of whom he will fulfill an equivalent but usually not identical set of obligations. Each man is the center of a series of varied relationships in which those with whom he associates himself have no necessary connections with each other. He is the hub of a wheel that has no rim.

George Foster has called paired relationships of this kind "dyadic contracts" (Foster, 1961). He believes they will occur in societies in which the number of people to whom a man can have culturally defined obligations is so large that it is not possible for him to fulfill them all. Men and women, therefore, choose from among their many kin, godparents and the like, those with whom they will make dyadic contracts. The people and the situation in which the contract is enforced vary from time to time. Foster suggests that such sets of paired relationships deter the development of factional groups. The idea of the dyadic contract is an extraordinarily useful concept for understanding the relationships I have just described for Vasilika, and Foster's analysis illuminates the consequences of what I have just called a situation in which each man or woman is the hub of a rimless wheel.

In the next chapter, the quality of the human relations characteristic of the elementary family and of the other types of associations of the villagers will be discussed.

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judgment, not through formal academic education, but by a natural flowering of common sense based on ordinary experience. Small children who get too near the fire or run too long in the sun are not scolded for disobedience but are excused on the grounds that they do not yet know any better. *"Dhen gzeri,"* they say, "He doesn't know." As children grow older, however, the same misbehavior is treated as a sign of unintelligence and accusations of stupidity may be flung at the child. *"Dhen echis myalo?,"* "Don't you have a brain?" they say.

The quality of shame which the villagers want to emphasize in their children is an inner sense of embarrassment at the thought of improperly revealing oneself—either the physical self (modesty) or the inner emotional self. The words for shame, which cluster about the term *endropi,* are used in at least three different contexts. When children refuse to talk to strangers, and smaller ones literally hide behind a parent, the elders say as an excuse, *"Drepete,"* "He is bashful." For young children to feel embarrassment at revealing themselves to strangers is proper in the villagers' view. As children grow older, girls are expected to be more modest than boys and shyness remains an excuse for females after it ceases to be one for males. The older women of the village, for example, find it difficult to join the men and visitors at a feast table; they prefer to eat in another room. They go into the *saloni* after their guests have finished eating and sit without speaking near the walls of the room. Villagers know that urban women do not have such reticences and they feel it necessary to make some excuse for their wives. *"Dreponde,"* they say, "They are ashamed," and although modesty as applied to a refusal to eat with one's guests is no longer fashionable, neither is it considered a disgrace to the husband or children.

A second use of the word for shame occurs when children show lack of self-control at stages in their development when it is already expected of them. *"Min drepese?"* "Aren't you ashamed?" is often a reaction of elders to a child who is less cleanly or orderly by village standards than he should be. Excessive running or shouting, physical fights with other children, loud and prolonged vituperation, enjoyment of food which borders on gluttony—these are the kinds of actions greeted with the suggestion that the child is exhibiting to the world too much of his inner needs. It is not the existence of the need that is considered bad, but rather the inability to control its expression. If he cannot exercise sufficient control, the child is not utilizing his sense of shame as is proper; he is making an unseemly exhibition of himself.

Although shame is considered an internal individual emotion, the process by which the villagers reveal his sense of shame to a child includes exaggerating and parading before others any evidence of possible shamelessness. That is, children are not merely asked *"Min drepese?"* but the action they should not have engaged in is often made much of and enlarged so that whatever inner discomfort is inculcated is reinforced by invoking the ridicule of outsiders. On one of our returns to the village for a brief stay, I visited one of my friends and casually asked where her five-year-old daughter was. Her mother answered that the child was probably hiding because she had been scolded for getting mud splattered on her dress. Some time later, as I was leaving, the mother caught sight of the little girl trying to hide herself on a narrow window ledge as she peeked out to catch

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872 school teachers in that village, and whose father had been a school official. They
875 lived in Parori and the school teacher walked back and forth each day. He is a man much interested in improving the standard of living in the region by increased arboriculture, by the maintenance of kitchen gardens, and by the raising of rabbits, pigeons, and other fowl for food. The teacher covers the standard academic curriculum—reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history (with emphasis on the ancient and modern history of Greece), and Greek language, as well as some religion. For the most part, he uses the traditional methods of rote learnng, but occasionally he includes some material on farm practices in his lessons, and tries different teaching techniques. On one occasion he supplemented the geography lesson by having the children make in the schoolyard an earth model of the topography of the Peloponnesus. He had them bring small samples of each of the products grown in the different regions of that part of Greece to place on the appropriate spot on the model.

[876]

In 1959, there was much favorable comment in the village because the schoolteacher had succeeded in having the new school built in just four months —a very short period for construction work of that kind in the region. But the schoolteacher is always partly an outsider for Vasilika because he neither comes from nor lives in the village.

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The school and its teacher are a focus of interest for all village families with school-age children. Not only does the school have its obvious educational functions, but the teacher is a supplementary authority with whom parents can threaten their children, and the success of their children in school is a source of great pride to the parents.

[861]

872 On two occasions in the course of the year the school becomes a focus of
527 interest for the entire village. The first of these is *Ochi* Day (the 28th of October), when the school children wear the old rural costumes and declaim patriotic
272 poems to commemorate the day in 1940 when the Greeks said "No!" to the
648 Italian ultimatum and started to repell the Italian invasion. This is a national
541 holiday, and the village president and the priest participate. On the *Ochi* Day that we witnessed, however, the audience for the ceremonies was small because the adults were out in the fields picking cotton.

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The second occasion is the more important one, *Evangelizmos*, the Feast of the Annunciation on the 25th of March. That is the official date on which, in 1821, the start of the revolution against the Turks was proclaimed by a bishop, and it is celebrated in Vasilika by children's recitations at the church services and by a school dramatic performance afterwards. The teacher selects the playlets,
536 which usually include several that are re-enactments of the partly legendary
522 incidents of the revolution. After the children have performed, the young men of the village present one or two mildly bawdy skits, which derive their humor partly from the antics of the boys who are assigned female roles and wear
535 women's clothes. After the plays, the children, still in costume, perform some of the folk dances of the region, accompanying themselves with songs. *Evan-*
621 *gelizmos* is one of the few times in the course of the year when virtually the entire village appears at an event. Villagers of all ages and both sexes come to

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tional activities, although ultimately controlled in Athens, function through different organizational channels. The unity that might be achieved by overlapping personnel in a village as small as Vasilika is not, in fact, achieved because each of the formal divisions has its own leadership. Some degree of concurrence exists, however, as a result of the tendency for the leaders in each of these spheres, except the governmental, to remain relatively permanent. The priest has been the religious leader of the community for a generation, the former secretary of the council had been in office for twenty years, the school teacher has been there for ten years, and so on. Nevertheless, officials who want to persuade Vasilika's population to some new course of action know that they cannot succeed by persuading the formal leaders only, or even the influential older men only, but must convince each head of a family, as well, if they are to get widespread compliance.

It would seem as though the formal organization of the village, and the family activities which so often lead out of the village and separate the interests of each family from those of others in the settlement, prevent the life-long daily associations of the men of the village from producing a driving force for enthusiastic joint action for village-wide goals. Nor does the system of voluntary, impermanent dyadic contracts between individuals produce any large groups with a sense of solidarity. As the foregoing has shown, then, there are activities which focus the attention of all the villagers but there is little active village-wide cooperation for village enterprises.

Yet this situation seems to conflict with the professed attitude of Vasilika's inhabitants toward their village and region. The villagers speak of Vasilika in the way Greeks from other villages speak of their home communities. A man or woman's *patridha*, that is, his village of origin in this context (*patridha* may mean Greece as one's nation of origin in contrast with other nations), is always recommended as a place to visit. People frequently mentioned certain qualities of their home villages which were worthy of praise. The air and the water, they would say, are clean, in the sense of pure and sweet, and these characteristics, they thought, made the village a healthy place, and, by extension, potentially therapeutic for anyone. The people of one's own village were *endopyi* (home folks) in contrast to *kseni* (strangers), and the term *kseni* was used equally to refer to a man from Parori two miles away, and to us from the United States thousands of miles distant.

Kseni, people not living in Vasilika, were described as thieves and as inhospitable. We were consistently told to lock our automobile in other villages, and also consistently told that it was not necessary to do so in Vasilika. Indeed, both with respect to other villages and within Vasilika itself, a distrust of others was most frequently expressed by saying that the villagers in question were thieves, and it was an accusation not meant lightly. On two occasions before we understood the situation, when we mislaid a pair of scissors and some clothespins, we asked the family with which we lived whether any one of them had seen the lost items. The family construed the question as an accusation that they had stolen the items from us, and it took several hours of reassuring conversation to convince them that we had meant nothing of the kind. Evidence suggests that

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an individual's or family's *filotimo* would be considered severely damaged if they stole from a stranger to whom hospitality had been offered; in fact, such thefts are very rare in any Greek village. Within Vasilika itself, there was some petty filching now and then, but it did not occur on the scale one would have expected from the frequent references to theft and thieving in conversation.

The inhospitality of people in other places was a frequent topic of conversation at the homes of those celebrating name days. A man could always raise a laugh by describing the ludicrously meager food and drink provided at a wedding or name day celebration he had attended at another village. Usually in response to any questions about the occurrence in Vasilika of deviant behavior, or of some form of discord, or of some moral transgression, the villagers began by making a general statement of denial. Such things happened in other villages, they would say, but not in Vasilika.

It would seem from the foregoing that Vasilika's population did, indeed, identify itself with the village as an entity. Vasilika is their *patridha*, and it must be thought to have good qualities, I believe, because the village's qualities reflect on its inhabitants both in their status as individuals and as families. Pride in the village, then, may be an extension of pride in oneself or one's family, and the functional consequences for village-wide enterprises of the existence of such pride depend on the strength of the competing sources of satisfaction.

In Vasilika, since farms may be maintained by the labor of the elementary family with only periodic requirements for a larger labor force, since sons and daughters leave the village and yet maintain relationships with those still in Vasilika, and since individuals can expect to give and to receive protection from their families, the forces leading toward either independence or family solidarity would appear to be strong enough to leave little energy for village-centered activities as a method of augmenting self-esteem. Nevertheless, the village as an entity constitutes a permanent potential source of satisfaction for its inhabitants, and now and then, under certain circumstances, the village itself becomes the primary object of loyalty for its population and commands some sacrifice. The boundary dispute with Parori was such an occasion for Vasilika. Moreover, any individual can, if he wishes, use his energies when he occupies an official position to gain improvements for the village as a means of enhancing his own self-esteem and of gaining the respect of the villagers, as long as he does not do so at the expense of his own children. The people of Vasilika are entirely willing to enjoy and to speak proudly of the electricity, or the piped water, or the better roads in Vasilika, once they have obtained them, even if they are not always willing to work together to achieve the improvements.

But Vasilika, as a village, must compete with another focus of loyalty for its inhabitants besides the family: Greekness itself—and the Greek nation as a political entity. The villagers' awareness of and pride in their Greekness is profound. In 1956 when we were questioning the children as to what they wanted to be when they grew up, several boys answered that they hoped God would let them grow strong and sturdy so that they could be good soldiers and go to "Fight for Cyprus." Moreover, the villagers associate certain qualities with Greek ethnicity: the desire for political independence and the willingness

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104 *Prodromos* St. John the Baptist, 'the Forerunner'.

proedros president

proskynesis worship.

prosphora eucharistic loaves.

prothesis the preparation of the elements before the liturgy; the chapel on the north of the church where this takes place.

protosyngellos bishop's chaplain.

psaltes singer, cantor.

retsina resinated wine.

sarka long coat with loose sleeves.

[202] *semandron* a piece of wood (more rarely, of iron) suspended and beaten with a mallet to summon monks to church.

skete dependent monastery.

skoufos monastic cap

symmoritai see *andartes*.

synodikos member of the Holy Synod.

Taxiarchai the Archangels (a common dedication for a church).

Theotokos the Mother of God.

●[609] *xenos* stranger *or* guest: there is no distinction in Greek.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Without the willingness of literally hundreds of people in Greece to answer questions and search their records on my behalf, this little book could not have been written. The warmth and extravagant hospitality with which Greeks of every rank and station receive a stranger is, indeed, a source of never ending surprise to one accustomed to the atmosphere of an American city, and I wish hereby to thank all those, both friends and casual acquaintances, who thus contributed to my knowledge and understanding of the Greek scene.

More particularly, I owe a debt of gratitude to a number of busy officials of the Greek government who took time to talk with me, and more than once set wheels in motion to provide statistics and other special information I requested of them. In Salonika, Mr. Orphanides of the Agricultural Bank, and in Athens Mr. Leviratos of the Ministry of Coordination and Mr. Liakis of the National Statistical Services were especially helpful.

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[Town Life]

Greece, far more so than in the United States, so that a cousin or uncle who has set himself up in town will expect to help his relatives to find a footing in town when they attempt to make the escape from the land, and will also expect to be received back into the family if dire necessity should ever compel him to abandon his town career. Family ties of this sort provide a bond between town and country, extending to the second or even the third generation.

The psychological relationship between town and country is, however, subtle and complex. A peasant regards a man who has no land as something less than a full man; at the same time, most peasants envy what they feel to be the easier, richer and more stimulating life led by townsfolk, and especially by Athenians. Town dwellers, characteristically, regard themselves as far more intelligent, better informed and more civilized than the peasants. Yet elements of peasant outlook still survive among them, particularly the burning desire to own a house and a bit of land on which to plant a grape arbor and raise flowers or a few vegetables.

In town a man's most important relations are with outsiders, while in the village, relations within the family and a circle of relatives dominate daily life. In town, people must buy and sell every day, and the market relationship is shot through with antagonism, since it appears that in any immediate situation one party's gain is the other's loss. Prolonged bargaining – typical of any purchase, even of vegetables in the street – expresses this attitude; and the chicanery and high markups generally characteristic of Greek business are a consequence of the same spirit which sees in any outsider a legitimate victim, to be fleeced if possible. In village life, where market relations are merely occasional, mutual help and cooperation within the family circle provide the matrix of daily living. To be sure, outside the family circle, Greek peasants can be just as ruthless as

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Greek townspeople; the difference is that townsmen must deal constantly with outsiders, whereas the peasants do so only occasionally.

This contrast lends a profoundly different timbre to town as against village life. In the countryside, a foreigner is treated as an honored family guest, and is often hard put to it to avoid abusing the hospitality of people who can ill afford to be generous. In towns, also, a foreigner is courteously received, but he will be cheated in small ways all the time. Prices tend to double when he appears on the scene, and if his tips, for services real or imaginary, are not far above the ordinary Greek level, he will be made to feel stingy.

Another marked characteristic of Greek town life is the sharpness of the line drawn between the manual and non-manual occupations. A secondary school education is the open sesame to a white-collar job, and a man who has achieved that level of education will not dirty his hands if he can help it. Otherwise he would seem to surrender the status so hard-won by his years in school. One consequence of this attitude is that skilled workmen and technicians are sometimes hard to find. Anyone in a position to afford an education will try for an academic course, preparing him for the white-collar class; a technical education which co[illegible]nly perpetuate a close connection with machinery and manual labor simply does not appeal to an ambitious boy. Even engineers are very prone to prefer a desk job to work in the field; and in the field they not infrequently dress in city clothes and supervise from a distance, where mud and other unpleasantnesses can be avoided. There are signs that these attitudes are weakening in the younger generation, but they are still very strong.

The disdain for manual labor is perhaps part of a more general social scheme of values which puts the rentier at or near the top of the social pyramid. To own land or buildings that will

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against the clamorous demands of deserving relatives who badly need a job.

The strong egalitarian spirit that runs through Greek life works in a somewhat parallel fashion to undermine the efficiency of large concerns. When every man feels himself just as good as everybody else, personal loyalty to a superior in a bureaucratic organization is difficult to establish. A bold spirit is sorely tempted to launch some sort of petty intrigue against his immediate boss, in the hope of displacing him and perhaps inheriting the position. More cautious persons are prone to develop a false servility and flattery of their superiors, in the hope of winning special confidence and favor. Both attitudes interfere with the effectiveness of large-scale organization; and both arise in large part from the underlying distrust Greeks feel toward anyone outside the sacred circle of the family.

Observations such as these are, of course, impressionistic, and it is not difficult to find many exceptions to the rule. Yet no one can deny that petty intrigue, nepotism and a remarkably ruthless pursuit of individual self-interest are far more widespread in Greece than in more industrially advanced countries. Indeed, these psychological characteristics of the Greek people perhaps have much to do with the relatively backward state of their technology, quite apart from the financial and physical difficulties which also hinder the development of large-scale modern industry in the country. Modern technology is, after all, incompatible with small-scale family enterprise; cooperation of larger numbers of men is necessary, and the traditions of the Greek people make such cooperation difficult to achieve.

This psychological attitude clearly makes the position of wage and salary earners less satisfactory than it might otherwise be. Anyone who has had any contact with the fierce intrigue that often disfigures personal relations among a group of Greek employees is likely to wonder how men can endure such ten-

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sions, only to remember how precious a job is to every Greek, and how impossible it is for a man to throw up a position in disgust in the hope of finding another and better one. There are, however, other factors which make the position of wage and salary earners difficult, and foster chronic discontent among them.

Wages are low, and are constantly in danger of being undercut by young men coming from the villages in search of work. Such new arrivals can often afford to work for less than a regular urban resident, for they have no homes or families to maintain, and can, in summer at least, sleep outdoors and eat very little in order to save a small sum with which to return home in the fall. As a result, a large part of the building trades, for example, is in the hands of migrant labor. Unions can do little to improve wages or working conditions when dozens of applicants seek every job that opens, and are ready, if need be, to bid against one another in order to get employment at all. Moreover, the prestige accorded to white-collar work and to immunity from manual toil obviously puts the working class at a psychological disadvantage, and builds up a sense of grievance among those condemned to labor with their hands.

Like the hill villagers, the workingmen of the towns were deeply infiltrated by Communist propaganda during the second world war. Attacks upon the rich, as traitors to the nation and oppressors of the poor, won widespread response. And indeed, the conduct of the small group of wealthy men in Greece lent some color to the accusations which Communists launched against them. Most men of property felt it more vital to safeguard their possessions than to join in any active resistance to the German and Italian authorities. Many of them exhibited the same ruthlessness against everyone beyond the family circle that most Greeks exhibit, and did so even when people were actually starving in the streets, as they were in 1941. Acts of

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communities) were governed by appointees of the Ministry of Interior. This sometimes led to disharmony and distrust between the inhabitants and their legal representatives. In 1951, however, elections were organized in villages (and larger communities), so that for the first time since the war the people had a chance to choose their own local officials. Villagers elect members of the village council, which varies in size with the size of the community. The council members then choose one of their number as president and another as secretary.

The secretary's duty is to keep village records; but the main responsibilities rest upon the president. He represents the village in all dealings with the outer world, and has an informal authority to hear complaints and settle quarrels within the village. Legal cases, however, lie beyond his competence; they are dealt with by regular judges, appointed by the Ministry of Justice.

A second center of village leadership is the church. Every village has a church, and the priest is often a native of the village, distinguished from his fellows by a special garb and the fact that he has attended a seminary for a year or longer. Priests are appointed by bishops, but a congregation has the right to refuse a nomination, or to object to a priest it dislikes. In such cases the bishop normally attempts to find someone else to suit the wishes of the community.

A third focus of leadership is the school system. Nearly every village has a primary school, staffed by a teacher who has had at least a secondary school education. Unlike the priest or the president, he is most often a stranger to the community, appointed to his post by the Ministry of Education. Here, in many villages, lies an important point of contact with the outside world; but just because the schoolmaster is usually an outsider and often a city man, he fails to command in most villages quite the same trust and authority that the priest and president enjoy.

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622 624 As one would expect in any small community whose members are acquainted from childhood, the effectiveness of formal leadership depends very much upon the personalities of the office holders. In some villages, the president and secretary have little real importance. As a minimum, they must keep records to [702] allow the army to draft the young men when their age group [653] is called up, and it is their duty to muster the able-bodied villagers for a fixed number of days' labor on roads or other public works when ordered to do so by officials of the central government. [651] This labor service is the only form of direct taxation now enforced upon peasants, and money payment may be substituted for personal service if anyone cares to do so.

622 631 652 Only when a village chooses to undertake local improvements requiring money or supplies from outside sources does the sphere of local government expand from this legal minimum. In such cases, the village president, perhaps assisted by some other members of the council, is expected to represent the village in all dealings with the agents of the central government from whom help is sought; and if the village contracts a corporate loan for some project, then the president becomes responsible for collecting the sums needed to repay the loan.

621 654 x 178 [609] Generally, the villagers of Greece have a deep-seated and not altogether groundless distrust of outsiders, particularly of government representatives, whom they suspect of being more often out to fleece than to help them. Long and persistent persuasion is therefore usually required on the part of government officials to overcome this suspicion, and open the way for technical or other improvements in village life. More often than not, the initiative in bringing about the changes which have come to many villages in the past ten years came from outside the village, from the central government. Only after a start had been made, and the practical advantage of some new crop or technique had been demonstrated on a small scale, did the farmers

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Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

on so much land. Purchase of machinery, like that used on American farms, would be one way to solve this difficulty; hiring labor from outside the village would be another, and more probable, course. It is conceivable, however, that the villagers of Lofiscos may hesitate about bringing in strangers to work for them. There is a considerable feeling of clannishness among the villagers, a clannishness perhaps reflecting their knowledge that they are far, far better off than the great majority of their fellows, and a desire to keep what they know to be a good thing strictly to themselves. It will not be surprising if, a few years from now, reluctance to hire outside labor begins to hold back the development of more intensive farming in Lofiscos. But if and when the farmers do begin to offer jobs to poor men from the hills, some of the communities that have hitherto seen little benefit from the rising prosperity of villages like Lofiscos will begin to share at least a little in the economic advance of the plains.

All these possibilities lie in the future. In 1956 the village was supplying all its own labor and was just beginning to alter traditional ways. Few villages in Greece are so comfortably situated, and fewer still have such possibilities for further enrichment.

NEA ELEFTHEROHORI

Nea Eleftherohori lies at the foot of Mount Olympus, facing the Thermaic Gulf, about twenty miles north of Katerini, the local market center and regional metropolis. The name means New Free Village, and is a reminder of the fact that there is an older "Free Village" perched high on the slopes of Olympus. In Turkish times, which lasted in this region until 1912, the men of the older Eleftherohori engaged in a little farming but for the most part depended for their living on the sale of firewood and on summer work as carpenters.

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American economist of the aid mission had in mind when he declared that nothing had changed in the civil service.

In dealing with the public, Greek civil servants often gave a most unfavorable impression. Aside from the airs they assumed as representatives of authority and power, they frequently seemed not in the least concerned to help an individual solve a problem or attain something to which he was legally entitled. Instead, petty details of paper work – making application with all the correct verbiage on sheets of paper of the right size for easy filing, and so on – these were what seemed to matter; and I felt, more than once, that when an official found some flaw in the papers submitted to him, he took a certain pleasure in rejecting them and ordering the applicant to return some other time with the red tape properly tinted.

Correctness in details of this sort did, of course, assist in making clerical routine easy, but this was not, I feel sure, the compelling motive. Rather, insistence upon jots and tittles protected a subordinate from criticism by his superior, and at the same time gave him a satisfying sense of his own power as against the public.

On the other hand, when an important man – that is, someone with connections higher up – came along, he claimed and received very special treatment. He was privileged to follow his papers into the inner sanctums of senior officials, thus making sure that prompt action was taken on them. Obstacles were smoothed over and procedural rules were sometimes suspended for a man with influential friends. Foreigners often, though not always, were given the same sort of red-carpet treatment, and were accorded privileges and deference withheld from ordinary Greeks.

When a private person had business with a government agency, he would first try to find someone who knew someone